1: Nachtigall--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/8/

Foreword by the Editor

124 This second volume of our series of studies contains a portion of the research which my collaborator, Dr. Horst Nachtigall, was able to carry out in 1952/53 in Colombia. The volume testifies to the fact that our scientific work at the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Mainz is not limited to desk research. Rather, we endeavor, in keeping with the scope of the problems in our field, to gather new observations in various parts of the world through fieldwork and in this way to help fill the large gaps in our knowledge of peoples living close to nature. Such research must necessarily also extend to the prehistoric evidence of human culture in the areas visited. Thanks to his extensive preoccupation with the special field of pre- and ancient history, Dr. Nachtigall was in a position to obtain the present material from the Colombian archeological province of Tierradentro.

Being occupied myself at the present time with ethnographic work in another corner of the world, I am particularly happy about the publication of this first volume of results from the fieldwork of our Mainz Institut für Völkerkunde. I thank [122] our publisher, Dr. H. Wyss, and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft [128] for their kind understanding and their active help, which have made this publication possible.

Gilgit, Pakistan, May 23, 1955. Adolf Friedrich

/9/

Words of Thanks by the Author

The description of the archeology and ethnology of Tierradentro presented in the following represents the first part of the scientific results of the Colombian journey undertaken with my wife, which was instigated by the Director of the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Mainz, Herr Prof. Dr. Adolf Friedrich, and carried out through his negotiations with German and Colombian authorities. The course of the journey and the preliminary summary of scientific results have already been published elsewhere.

/10 cont./

128 [114] For assistance in drawing up the manuscript, I should like first of all to thank my wife, who accompanied me on all my trips in Colombia, recorded the field research there stenographically, and has attended to transcribing the manuscript. I thank Herr Prof. Dr. E. L. Rapp, Mainz, for his friendly advice with regard to the transcription of the Paez language, and Herr Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Geilmann, Mainz, for the roentgenographic examination of the prehistoric teeth and bones available from the grave chambers of Tierradentro. Here, too, I should like to thank the artist of the Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte of the University of Mainz, Fräulein Margot Kunzmann, for the technical drawings and maps, and the Herrn. cand. phil. Wolfgang Lindig for proofreading.

122 [128] The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, which had already financed my journey both ways and granted a considerable allowance for working up the scientific results, also assumed part of the printing costs for this publication. For this I should like to express my respectful gratitude to the President of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. For public and private financial and moral support I must thank Herr Ministerial Director Prof. Dr. Hans Becker and Ministerial Counselor Dr. Otto Wegner of the Ministry of Public Worship and Education /Kultusministerium/ of the Rhineland-Palatinate, the Chief Burgomaster of the city of Mainz, Herr Franz Stein, the Curator of the University of Mainz, Herr Fritz Eichholz, and the Chairman of the Supervisory Council of the Dykerhoff Portland-Zementwerke AG., Herr Consul Alexander v. Engelberg.

Mainz, October 1, 1954. H. N.

1: Nachtigall--19 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC/
Tierradentro

/103 cont./

128 [127] Since, therefore, a total description of the culture of the Paez does not yet exist, a tribal monograph on the Paez is herewith presented in the following, in which, besides the data from my own investigations, the results of the earlier investigators have been incorporated. Much will have escaped me -- as a result of the short time at my disposal and the inaccessibility of the population -- much that was part of the domestic economy /104/ of Paez culture has already been destroyed as a result of advancing civilization and is therefore lost forever. In the following description of the cultural heritage of the Paez a division has been made, for working purposes, with regard to material and spiritual culture and with regard to the description of social forms. In practice a sharp line of demarcation cannot normally be drawn within a culture between these aspects of it, since these three areas do not lead a separate existence, but are closely bound up with the acting human being as the creator and bearer of culture. This is true to a greater extent for primitive peoples, where all areas of human activity are much more closely linked together, than in modern high culture where the individual sectors of activity are specialized to a high degree and accordingly may be treated and investigated separately. Thus if, for practical reasons, in the following tribal description the form of settlement is described under material culture and shamanism under spiritual culture, nevertheless both factors are also of great importance from the sociological point of view. Conversely, family organization, for example, as part of the description of society, is also very closely bound up with the economy and techniques in the primarily material realm, and also with religion.

2. Demography

131 C 632 Altogether the Tierradentro area embraces about 5,000 square kilometers, of which about 3,000 square kilometers fall in the region north of the Rio Ullucus. Its 18 villages are divided into two municipios (administrative districts) /see the glossary, p.249 /, the southern one of which includes three villages with Inzá as the seat of the administration, while the northern one

/225 cont./

193 inquiries with reference to examples that were easily comprehensible.
126 If these lay outside of the context just discussed, I was often requested to provide the appropriate form myself, which I always succeeded in doing with the help of my examples, to the joyful surprise of the Paez. Their confirmation in each case, that "one can say it that way, too," permits me to set down the following
193 paradigms. Phonetic discrepancies are purposely retained, for
● 128 example, in the second person singular the endings -eg and -eng, in the third person plural the endings -yin or -yen. In the present, the first and third persons singular are generally the same. The personal pronouns for all forms are placed before the verb. In the model verbs the feminine form of the first person singular and the various forms of the second person singular were omitted in favor of the simple masculine forms.

193 ōpya, "to live"

Present:	ātya ōpon	Future:	ātya apohípt	
	inç ōponeńg		inç opohípeneng	
	kya ōpon		kya opohípa	
	kweš ōpontkaw		kweš opohíptaw	
	kyáńweš ōpotyin		kyáńweš opohíptyin	
Perfect:	ātya ōpokot	or:	ópnast	(óńnaha)
	inç ōpoing	or:	opnásing	(óńnaha)
	kya ōpok	or:	ópnasa	(óńnaha)
	kweš ōpotaw	or:	ópnastaw	(óńnaha)
	kyáńweš ōpotç	or:	ópnastyin	(óńnaha)

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/291 cont./

773 They are in fact legendary personages who go beyond the
[186 boundaries of legend to enter the territory of myth, not only
[628 by their symbolism, but in their dramatic force, their socio-
logical framework, and their cultural function.

The mythology gravitates around the behavior of the natives, their attitudes toward the whites, the organization of the cabildo, illnesses, and death. Of Juan Chiracol, a 23-year-old informant says: "He warns when the mob is coming, he no longer warns, so." And of Thunder, it is said that he almost killed a padre because he went to the montaña to get wood to board up the school. "Thunder was defending the
538 wood," they say. The tales were always told around the fire,
773 with men, women, and children present, who sometimes laughed, at other times kept silent, but always corroborated, corrected, elaborated, or confirmed. The storytellers sometimes put on a serious face, accompanied their tale with mimicry, and once in a while they would burst into mocking laughter, as if to signify that what they were saying was worthless and they did not believe it. I was soon able to ascertain
115 their sociological and cultural value. The myths and tales
773 were collected with the help of an interpreter, a mestizo from San Andrés, about 35 /292/ years old, tall, muscular, quiet in manner, intelligent, calculating, with great charm and a knowledge of Paez and the Spanish language; he was familiar with the customs of the Calderunos, esteemed by them, and
773 skilled in his questioning. We present below the myths and
• 128 tales collected, leaving the other aspects of the culture for presentation in a complete monograph.

1. Thunder

*539 The old people related that at one time the area was full of Pijao. Thunder lived in Sukafi. In view of the growing number of Pijao, he decided to kill them. He stood on a tall stone that is to be found there, threw his lariat /boleadora/

5:Bernal Villa--29 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
● [128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
[464]
[192]
[199]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[571] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as perma-
[181] nent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas. They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

/299 cont./

245 year. Traders in Silvia sell the crops at up to 14 pesos an arroba.
[439] Lame produces perhaps the best peaches, but they are not suitable for export because they are easily damaged. There are also numerous plantings in Tumbichukue and Calderas, although they do not have much care.

247 Floriculture does not exist among the Páez, and they cannot understand the labor that the "whites" invest in their gardens. They are always of the opinion that food plants should be sown on such lands.

241 Among the cultivated plants, they regard as native maize ("the /300/ Pijao had maize"), the hartón /large-sized/ plantain ("the Pijao also had it"), frijoles, mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/, cabbages, and the cane "criolla" /Creole, native/, while coca, they say, seems rather to have come from the "whites."

241 Species cultivated and zones of cultivation
137 Here is a list of the food plants cultivated by the Páez (5):
192
●[128]

5. We thank the Herbario Nacional Colombiano, especially Dr. Jesús M. Idrobo, for the scientific identification of the plants.

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó. It is destined primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultiva- [412] tion. They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden clubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the [256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to separate the bran.

• 128 241 433 [563] Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production. We specify the percentage of the production intended for sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953. [124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some [123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data on their production they are in general completely trustworthy, since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship had been established between the investigator and the person investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The

6: Bernal Villa--34 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15
[Mosoco]

/313/

128 244 43 We present below a statistical table on the potato production of 25 families. Nearly all of them have two harvests per year. The first row represents the November planting and the second one that of May and June. For those who have only one harvest a year, the planting is in the month of November.

We establish, in arrobas, the amount planted, the amount harvested, and that intended for sale and for consumption. We specify in Colombian pesos the value received from sales, an estimate of the amount alloted for consumption, the total value of the harvests, and the costs. An arroba of potatoes is sold for four pesos, on the average, at the place of harvest. In Silvia it is quoted at six. The quantity left for consumption is valued [465] at two pesos per arroba, a standard price for everyone. Costs include only the expenses for mingas, wage labor, and contract labor. Family labor is excluded. We also determine the percentage of the total harvest allotted for sale.

/323 cont./

231 There are no animal "pets," and none of the domestic animals serve as playthings or are regarded simply as "pretty." They all have a utilitarian purpose.

[556] The possession of domestic animals is a symbol of wealth. The owner of large tracts of land does not regard himself as rich, while the one who has domestic animals does.

231 There are commercial transactions with animals among the
435 natives. The prices are very low. "The Indian is poor," they
438 say, "he has no silver." For this reason, animals that among the whites would bring 200 pesos or more are sold among the natives for half the price or even less.

233 This state of affairs hardly exists among the natives of the
232 parcialidad of Mosoco. There are already ranches dedicated
[246] solely to livestock-raising. Some are planted with pasture grasses, especially poa. There is a marked tendency to improve the livestock, in quality as well as quantity. They know the excellence of the Norman and Holstein among the cattle and the Merino
231 among the sheep. They have special breeds of hogs and chickens.
[232] Many /324/ own mules and splendid riding horses. Commercial
[438] transactions involving animals bring a just price even among the
[782] natives themselves. Some of them are marvelous traders. They
[233] still retain the practice of making an offering to the Duende when slaughtering cattle or pigs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras the natives have magnificent herds. Livestock-raising in Mosoco is thus an industry at the height of development that deserves full attention on the part of the authorities.

23 In the statistical table that we present below one can observe the expansion of the livestock industry in Mosoco and com-
●[128] pare it with those of Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas. The owners are natives, except for the whites and mestizos marked with an asterisk.

8: Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

600 Bases for the Study of the Social Organization of the Páez

By
Segundo Bernal Villa.

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124 /167/ The material for the study of the kinship system of
• 128 the Páez was collected in the month of May, 1953, thanks to the
[114] enthusiastic collaboration of Victoriano Piñakué, 18 years of age,
[115] bilingual, and a native of the parcialidad /a village and the lands belonging to it/ of Calderas. With this material we made an analysis of the kinship system, which we present below without any major modifications. It was later discussed with several native men of the parcialidad of San Andrés, who found it to be correct. At the end of May, 1954, we had the opportunity to discuss it again in Mosoco with two male informants of the lo-
[197] cality. They found practically no phonological differences, in spite of the fact that the Páez spoken in that parcialidad showed some different nuances in relation to that spoken in the other
124 parcialidades. They made only one fundamental observation,
128 which we accepted, since we consider it to be convincing. It
601 refers to the terms used to designate the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of EGO. According to Piñakué, they are designated with the Spanish terms: sobrino and sobrina /nephew and niece/. Jorge Mulcué (Mosqueño /a person from Mosoco/ 58 years old) affirmed that they are designated with the words kué or wásak (son and daughter) preceded by the possessive my (anji).

601 Men and women use the same terms for both the paternal and the maternal line, with certain exceptions, subordinating the real degree of kinship to the generation. The Páez system of kinship terminology is, therefore, classificatory and bilateral.

/167 cont./

601 Seemingly there is no terminology for designating the older and younger brothers of the generation of EGO, although in practice this distinction stands out. EGO is obliged to greet older brothers and the older members of the community in general, and there also exists the obligation of being greeted by the younger brothers and, in general, by all the younger members of the community.

Among the adults of both sexes, married and with children, the use of teknonymous forms is general.

114 /168/ The only two studies of kinship systems made in Colombia are from the pen of Professor Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff working among the Iroka and the Kogi. That of the Iroka was [104] done with the collaboration of Alexander L. Clark. With the intention of facilitating subsequent comparative studies on the subject, we have adopted his system for presenting the materials, especially the abbreviations of the kinship terms in the Spanish language /the English equivalents for the abbreviations of the Spanish terms are given on p. 10 /.

127 Before finishing with this brief introduction, we wish to
● 128 place on record our sincere thanks to Señor Víctor Bedoya for his voluntary transcription of unpublished documents from the Archivo Nacional relating to the Páez, and to Professor Marcos Fulop for his valuable observations and opportune suggestions which brought much light to obscure sections of our work.

601

Analysis of Kinship Terms

Consanguineous Relatives

A--EGO's Generation:

a) Masculine EGO: Brothers and sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as brothers (iakté).

b) Sisters and daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as sisters (Pesh).